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The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

It has long been the contention of the writer that present sociology has been so concerned with social change that it has tended to lose sight of the continuity of basic social institutions. It is true that even these institutions—the family, church, social clubs, professional organizations, and the school—have undergone adaptation resulting primarily from increased communication, transportation, and mobility, but the fundamental values remain at least comparatively constant. This is true in every community but is a dominant characteristic of rural life.

Recently the writer returned to the Midwest town of his boyhood. There were a number of physical changes—the streets had been paved and a through highway constructed, several new buildings had been erected including a beautiful high school with all modern facilities, and the winding riverbanks had been made into a lovely park. Only a few of the young people whom I had known remained in the community. But the daily life of the folk remains almost unchanged; they worship in the same churches, belong to the same organizations, chat over backyard fences, and congregate in the village on Saturday, and, most important of all, have the same sense of neighborliness and of belonging to a community that continues to exercise a very real social control over youth and their elders alike.

Some one has said that "in the heart of the peasant lies the culture of a nation." No higher tribute can be paid than this.

Recognizing this fact, and, further, that nearly half of the nation's children still receive their elementary education in a one-room rural school, THE JOURNAL welcomes the opportunity of publishing this issue on rural life and education.

The issue has been edited by Dr. William E. Cole, professor of sociology at the University of Tennessee.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

NOTE: "Current Population Trends and Rural Education" by P. K. Whelpton was received too late for publication and will appear in the April issue.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN RURAL LIFE

T. LYNN SMITH

American rural life has suffered for want of a strong, highly integrated, and clearly defined rural community. Local government, organized on either a township or county basis, has suffered because of the artificial nature of the political boundaries; rural-school attendance lines have been able to follow no sharply differentiated social boundaries; and economic, recreational, and religious functions also have been adversely affected by the confused nature of rural locality groupings.

In part the lack of clearly defined and well-integrated community units in rural America is due to the settlement pattern used in arranging the population on the land. For the most part the single or isolated farmstead prevails throughout the entire United States. Where this is the case community lines are necessarily less distinct than where farmers' homes are clustered together as in the European farm village. But in part the nebulous state of American community outlines is due to the failure of governmental, educational, religious, economic, and other institutions to play their part in the development of distinct and integrated community units. Where attendance, taxation, and service districts are marked out in a haphazard manner without respect to social groupings, weak as these may be, the results are not conducive to the development of a stronger community consciousness and life.

The foregoing comments should not be interpreted to mean that rural America is entirely lacking in communities, but merely that these basic social groupings are not as healthy and flourishing as they might have been with more intelligent social planning.

Certain social groupings seem to be inevitable concomitants of human life. Kinship groupings offer one of the best examples of

these. The family has been observed among every people known to anthropology. Some kind of a locality group also falls into this category of inevitable social groupings. The neighborhood and the community are the principal groupings of this type. Because of the limitations of time, space, and man's ability to move about one or the other or both of these will be found in every society. The community or neighborhood may be strong or weak, their outlines may be distinct or blurred, but even in rural America they are always to be found. The fact that their territorial limits can serve as boundaries for various service areas is sufficient to make them of utmost importance in planning activities.

The community. The term *community* is very difficult to define in any specific sense. In popular language its connotations vary widely, and even in scientific usages community is a highly ambiguous term. In sociological literature it is used in two principal senses, both of them having very good authority in the Latin derivation. One of these refers merely to the qualities of solidarity, mutuality, or togetherness; the second denotes specifically a body of people in a definite geographic area.

In the present stage of our sociological thinking the meaning attached to the word community has derived from the work of two principal groups of workers. One of these is the purely theoretical group headed by Professor Robert M. MacIver. Members of this group have combined the Latin connotations and have used the term community to designate any social group having a definite locality basis. To quote from an early work by MacIver:

By community I mean any area of common life, village, or town, or district, or county, or even wider area. To deserve the name community, the area must be somehow distinguished from further areas, the common life may have some characteristics of its own such that the frontiers of the area have some meaning.¹

¹ R. M. MacIver, *Community* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1917), p. 22.

More recently he has given an even clearer statement of this position in the following words:

Any circle of people who live together, who belong together, so that they share, not this or that particular interest, but a whole set of interests wide enough and complete enough to include their lives, is a community.²

The influence of this line of thought upon current sociological practice has been considerable.

Even more important, however, especially for all those who would attempt to use the community concept in activity programs, including rural education, are the contributions of the group pioneered by Dr. C. J. Galpin. Galpin's early Wisconsin studies, ably seconded by those of Sanderson and his students at Cornell, Kolb at Wisconsin, Taylor in Missouri and North Dakota, and many others working in the field of rural sociology, have determined with some degree of certainty the nature of the present locality group structure of rural America, and have pointed the direction in which it is moving. In sharp contrast with the work of MacIver and his associates, their work has been strictly empirical.

Galpin's pioneer work has done most to give a sound orientation with respect to the meaning attached to the word community as well as an understanding of the manner in which its boundaries may be determined. He began his work in a day when thinking concerning the rural community was in a very nebulous stage. Scattered settlement patterns, relatively large holdings only partially cultivated, the persistence of many social characteristics of the frontier, and many other factors set the typical American landscape into sharp contrast with the nucleated village settlements of the old world.

Early attempts by Butterfield and others set the limits of the rural community in terms of the "team haul." Nevertheless, for the most part, the close of the nineteenth century and the opening dec-

²R. M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), pp. 9-10.

ade of the twentieth was a period in which the farmer was thought of as a man without a community.

Interestingly enough Galpin first sensed the nature of the inter-related web of life uniting villagers and farmers from the surrounding area into a functioning social group while he was teaching in a small-town academy in New York State. As a health-seeking resident of the "skims" in the Lake State's cutover area, and later as an organizer for a milk condensary in Walworth County, Wisconsin, Galpin gradually came to a realization of the real nature of the rural community. Later at the University of Wisconsin he formulated in objective terms his definition of a community, and set forth in a precise manner the mode of determining its limits.

Galpin's classic study was conducted in Walworth County. His problem was twofold: (1) from the standpoint of the village or town trade center he sought to determine all of the land area, all of the farm homes under its influence; and (2) from the point of view of the farm family he sought to know specific hamlet, village, and town attachments. Data gathered from each family were utilized by ingenious mapping devices in determining the relationships between each farm family and the centers of the county. In these maps were revealed for the first time the community groupings of an American county. Surrounding the twelve town and village trade centers of the county were twelve trade zones or trade basins dependent upon the respective centers, bounded by irregular lines, paying no regard to political boundaries, overlapping to some extent, and occasionally shading off into sort of a no man's land. Tributary to the twelve trading and commercial centers also were revealed eleven banking zones, seven distribution areas for local newspapers, twelve milk sheds, nine high-school patronage areas, and four library circulation areas. Concluded Galpin:

It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone about one of these rather complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the ap-

parent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness. The fundamental community is a composite of many expanding and contracting feature communities possessing the characteristic pulsating instability of all real life.³

Like the concept elaborated by MacIver, Galpin's definition includes both of the connotations which the term community derives from the Latin. Involved are a definite geographical area, social institutions, and social interaction between the people living in the area. Unlike MacIver's concept, that evolved by Galpin can readily be applied in the delimitation of specific and definite community areas such as those that could be used in determining rural-school attendance zones.⁴

The neighborhood. Emphasis on the community should not cause the important role of the neighborhood to be obscured. These are the smallest of the locality groups. They consist of small clusters of families. They are the next group beyond the family to have social significance. Neighborhoods are areas within which neighboring and mutual aid are common practices—they are areas within which the families are conscious of intimate relations with one another. It should not be forgotten that Cooley included the neighborhood, along with the family and the play group, in his class of "primary groups." He styled as primary groups those "characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation."⁵ They are primary in that they are the molds in which are set the individual's personality, social nature, and ideals. For the adult the neighborhood is the only primary group other than the family, a fact of no little significance to the farmer.

During colonial times, the neighborhood was the basic locality group, and it might be said that society was in the neighborhood

³ Charles J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*. Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 34, 1915, pp. 18-19.

⁴ An excellent example of practical delineation of neighborhoods and communities for such purposes is Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, "Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County," *Alabama College Quarterly Bulletin*, XXXIII, No. 1A (July 1940).

⁵ Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), p. 23.

stage. In recent years the importance of the neighborhood has been overshadowed by the community. In fact, in modern America the neighborhood is for the most part merely a segment of a given community. In the South the neighborhood still retains much of its former importance, while the community is coming into its own there more slowly than elsewhere. But even in the South neighborhoods are gradually losing in importance and being transformed into parts of the emerging community.

*Trends in the structure and role of the community.*⁶ At least seven trends of fundamental importance are modifying the nature and role of the American rural community: (1) the community is expanding in size; (2) communities are supplanting and overlaying neighborhoods as the basic locality groupings; (3) internally the structure of the community is becoming very much more differentiated; (4) community boundaries or lines are becoming even more blurred or indistinct; (5) the social solidarity of the community is gradually shifting from a type based on similarities to one based on division of labor and the resulting mutual interdependence of persons in the locality group; (6) class lines with the rural community are becoming more distinct and of more social significance; and (7) basic social processes are now operating in a manner quite different from that which has been customary in the past.

The available soundings on community size indicate that the limits of the community are expanding. Studies by Sanderson and others in New York State are among the most painstaking. Their results reveal that the larger villages are receiving increased patronage in business but not in other social activities.⁷ Brunner and his associates have made some of the most comprehensive studies. Between 1924 and 1930, the areas of influence of villages of all sizes increased, although a large part of the individual villages were

⁶ The analysis in this section follows closely that in my article, "Trends in Community Organization and Life," *American Sociological Review*, V (June 1940), pp. 327-330.

⁷ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York*. Ithaca: Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 514, 1934, pp. 93-94.

static.⁸ Six years later, in 1936, a second resurvey again revealed a gradual trend in the direction of expanding community boundaries. Between 1930 and 1936 there was a significant increase in the size of the trade basin in one third of the 140 communities studied.⁹ Colonial society was very largely cut to the neighborhood pattern. With minor exceptions, the principal locality groupings were small in size, consisted of persons closely knit together by intimate social bonds, were areas within which the social interaction was almost exclusively on a face-to-face basis, and were groupings so limited in scope that, despite a high degree of family self-sufficiency, it was necessary to go outside the limits of the group for the satisfaction of many of the elemental needs of life. As the frontier edged forward from the Appalachians to the Pacific, neighborhoods were the bases used for establishing orderly social relationships among the pioneers and their descendants.

As locality groups have enlarged their boundaries, it has had the effect of making the community supplant the neighborhood as the basic locality group in American life. This trend has been under way for many years. In the areas surveyed by Brunner and his associates, over one third of all the locality groupings classed as neighborhoods disappeared between 1924 and 1936, and nearly one fourth of them had fallen by the way between 1930 and 1937. Especially in the South there is occurring before our eyes a very rapid transformation of society from a neighborhood to a community basis.

As the community enlarges, as neighborhood lines become indistinct, as one community declines in importance to the extent that it becomes a mere satellite (neighborhood) within the influence of another, and as the internal structure of the community becomes differentiated, it becomes harder to distinguish precisely where the limits of one community end and those of another begin.

⁸ Edmund deS. Brunner and John H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933), p. 94.

⁹ Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 85.

As resurvey has succeeded resurvey, Brunner and his associates report increasing difficulty in determining the limits of the communities in their sample.

That a combination of the rural and urban modes of living, *i.e.*, "rurbanization," is occurring few will be inclined to doubt. On the basis of intensive studies of communities in the States of Indiana, Minnesota, and North Dakota, and of the locality groupings in the State of Louisiana over a thirty-year period, the writer has described the observed trends in locality group relationships. These are as follows:

There has been a tendency for centers of various sizes to distribute themselves more uniformly with regard to the area, population, and resources of the State. Or, the changes seem to be in the direction of a more efficient pattern of rural organization. This redistribution of centers in conjunction with improved methods of communication and transportation has placed each family in frequent contact with several trade centers, which means that the loyalty of the farm family is divided among several centers instead of being confined to one. This, too, makes for heterogeneity in the locality group and decreases the differences between various locality groups.

From 1901 to 1931 important alterations took place in the internal structures of the trade centers. A fundamental tendency towards specialization and division of labor between trade centers was found to be underway. Analysis of the existing situation in 1931 showed that, despite much overlapping, the small centers were specializing in certain types of services, medium-sized centers in others, and the largest centers in still others. Analysis of changes since 1901 showed that this division of labor had become much more evident during the thirty-year period. In general small centers nearest the farms are ceasing the attempt to provide all services and concentrating their efforts upon certain types of enterprises for which their location gives them a comparative advantage. The types of enterprises offered by the smallest centers are: those which are most undifferentiated, those satisfying the most immediate needs, those most closely connected with agricultural production and those which process farm products. As centers became larger, these types became relatively less important, and more highly specialized types made their appearance. This

has an immediate influence upon the behavior of the farm family. Small centers near the farm are resorted to for securing services which meet many of the most pressing needs; large centers at a greater distance, for services satisfying other less immediate needs; and even the largest centers at considerable distance, for supplying some of the least pressing needs of the farm family.

The manner in which centers are now distributed, and the internal changes they have been undergoing lead to the belief that small centers are not doomed to extinction. Probably part of the small centers, those which are poorly situated with respect to modern arteries of communication and transportation, will continue to decline and disappear, but others more favorably located will continue to serve many of the pressing and basic needs of the population immediately surrounding them.¹⁰

The results of the New York studies presented by Sanderson are in agreement. According to him, the typical open-country family in New York State now resorts to the local village or hamlet at a distance not exceeding three miles for one half of all services. Groceries, auto repairs, hardware, feed, church, grange, and school make up the bulk of these. Four out of ten families go not over four miles to a slightly larger village for similar services. From a still larger village distant four to six miles, three fourths of all families receive services such as banking, groceries, drugs, furniture, work clothes, movies, physician, high school, lodge, hardware, shoes, and weekly newspaper. Nine out of ten families patronize a city distant 15 miles or more for dress clothes, furniture, shopping goods, and luxuries. Finally, the mail-order firm is used by one tenth of the families for clothing, hardware, and automobile equipment, and sundries.¹¹ John H. Kolb, writing in Wisconsin some fifteen years after Galpin, has arrived at essentially the same conclusion.¹²

The nature and basis of the cohesion within the community is changing in a fundamental manner. Definitely on the decrease

¹⁰ T. Lynn Smith, *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana 1901 to 1931*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 234, 1933, pp. 54-55.

¹¹ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

¹² *Trends in Town-Country Relations*. Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 117, 1933, p. 28.

is the cohesion which results from likenesses and similarities, called by Giddings "consciousness of kind," by Toennies "*gemeinschaft*," and by Durkheim "mechanistic solidarity." In other words, what Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin have called the cumulative group is being replaced by what Kolb has called special interest groups. As social relationships in a given area become more heterogeneous, the community must depend more and more for its unity and cohesion upon that type of social solidarity which develops out of division of labor, specialization, and the consequent lack of self-sufficiency on the part of the individual. The resulting interdependence—buttressed by give-and-take, live-and-let-live attitudes and a contractual type of coöperation—provides much of the unity to be found in the present-day communities. In the past, this type of solidarity, which Durkheim called organic, has been much less important; in the future, its role promises to be much greater in the community.

The basic point is that the nature of community solidarity is shifting very rapidly from the type based upon likenesses and consciousness of kind to one based upon a conscious recognition of basic differences, lack of self-sufficiency, and mutual interdependence of parts.

Within the community also is occurring a fundamental change in such basic processes as conflict and coöperation. The nature of social conflict has responded to changes in the structure and solidarity of the community. Formerly, the lines of cleavage between various social groupings were abrupt, sharply defined, and unbridged by class differences. In a community that possessed a high degree of mechanistic social solidarity, the limits of the most important social groupings tended to coincide; political, religious, kinship, and occupational lines followed one another closely. Today, much of this has changed. Increased social differentiation has added new social groupings, and the lines of demarcation have followed new channels. The old lines of cleavage have become blurred. The

limits of a given group's influence have become more vague and ill-defined. Much overlapping has occurred, and there is much less tendency for the boundaries of one social grouping to parallel those of another; political groupings within the community no longer follow family lines so closely; religious cleavages cut across occupational lines; and a new class consciousness has cut across all these groupings. A method of sampling which made possible accurate forecasts of 1928 and 1932 elections was no longer valid by 1936.

These changes are of significance from the standpoint of social conflict. Misunderstandings between groups of one kind over differences in one sphere are much less likely to be aggravated by differences of another variety. Political struggle within the community is not so strongly drawn up along town-country lines; family feuds are not strengthened by occupational, political, and religious differences; and religious struggle is not at the same time a conflict between different economic strata, kinship groups, political entities, and occupational alliances. Except for the intensification of class struggle, all of this confusion tends to weaken the intensity and shorten the duration of inter- and intracommunity conflict. Blood feuds extending generation after generation are unthinkable in a community whose solidarity is of the organic type. At the present time, it is possible for a large part of the population of the community to play the role of mere spectator in connection with local conflict situations.

Coöperation and coöperative activities also are rapidly undergoing fundamental transformations in the communities of the nation. As social differentiation and division of labor have replaced mechanistic solidarity with that of an organic type, coöperative activities within the community have been changing from a mutual-aid basis to a more deliberate and contractual type. This kind of coöperation operates through a formally constituted organization, possessed of specific rules, and is set up on a strict give-and-take basis. Unlike the former, it is not spontaneous; it must be promoted.

It need not be personal, and in fact is frequently highly impersonal. Adjustment to this contractual variety of coöperation is one of the basic problems confronting the communities of the nation.

Thus the facts seem to be: (1) both the neighborhood and the community are losing exclusive claim to the loyalty and patronage of the individual family; (2) neighborhoods are not doomed to extinction, but will find their principal role as a complementary part of the enlarged community; (3) communities are developing complementary and supplementary relationships among themselves, are allowing the neighborhood to play a definite role, and are seeing the individual families participate in the activities of the great society in an extracommunity capacity; (4) the family is gradually dividing its attachments and loyalty among the surrounding neighborhood, the encompassing community, and the centers of industry and trade whose influences envelop the community; (5) cohesion within the community is rapidly shifting from the spontaneous type based on social similarities to a more consciously live-and-let-live type based on specialization and division of labor; (6) class differences are becoming more sharply defined and even more of the caste element is being observed; (7) social conflict is becoming more prevalent, but also more intermittent, less deep and cutting; and (8) old informal mutual-aid practices are giving way to coöperative practices based on conscious contractual relationships.

Conclusion. The emerging community now coming to be the basic locality group in rural America involves at least three elements:

1. The community is a definite geographic area—it is a social group with a specific territorial basis. Galpin's method of determining the limits of this area seems most useful for the present.

2. It is also the social interaction of the people—persons, families, and other social groups in the area—including general assent to the proposition that the welfare of all the people in the area is inextricably tied up with the fortunes of the community as a whole.

3. Finally it is a level of social relationships attained by pyramiding from the person to the family, from the family to the neighborhood, and from the neighborhood to the community.

For rural education the significance of this hierarchy of social relationships which pyramids from the person to the family, the family to the neighborhood, and from the neighborhood to the community is very clear. These various groupings constitute natural attendance areas; and their culmination, the community, is a logical unit for school administrative purposes. This point deserves further elaboration. So far society has thought it best to leave the child with the parents for the first six years, making the family the first educational attendance area. So efficient is the rural family in performing its educational functions, so multiple the ideas, tasks, skills involved in farm work and farm living that it would seem wise to continue this practice. From six to nine or six to twelve, however, the child might very well begin in a gradual manner to participate in the larger society and to secure the elements of a formal education. That the transition be not too abrupt and that the child continue to profit most from family influences, his first school years should be spent in a small school in close proximity to the home. The neighborhood offers an excellent natural unit, with both a geographic and social base, to serve as an attendance area for a school including the first three to six years. As the child becomes more mature and advanced, as he becomes more sturdy physically, and as his social contacts increasingly occur outside family circles, he may very well be assembled with his fellows from his own and other neighborhoods in a school serving the entire community. Here he can continue, amid surroundings more removed from his home environment and more in contact with the larger world, with the completion of his elementary- and the securing of his high-school education.

By proceeding in this manner educational programs could capitalize on the natural social units of rural America. Beyond the ele-

mentary schools rooted in the neighborhood, the community can logically serve as a focal point for the educational activities of advanced elementary- and high-school levels. Just as the community supplements and complements the neighborhoods in economic, political, and other social spheres, making life more complete by offering types of service which would be impractical on a neighborhood basis, in the educational realm the community can find its plane of greatest service as a focal point for more advanced educational activities.

Furthermore, from the standpoint of social relationships in general, schools planned in such a manner that their boundaries of influence would coincide with those of locality groups would play their part in increasing the elements of neighborliness and community life within the rural locality groups. In this manner they would draw strength from neighborhood and community units, but they would feed back into these locality groups strength giving elements of social interaction and the example of successful working together for the attainment of common purposes.

Dr. T. Lynn Smith is a native of Colorado. He is now professor of sociology and head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology at Louisiana State University. Dr. Smith is author of numerous bulletins and articles and an outstanding recent volume, *Sociology of Rural Life*.

THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO THE SOCIOLOGICAL STATUS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY¹

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Each age has certain significant historical trends in the evolution of human institutions. The decline of feudalism, the industrial revolution, and the rise of public schools were epoch-making trends of their times. In the last quarter century two of the outstanding trends in our own rural culture have been the emergence of the rural community and the growth of the school as a community institution.

In the settlement of this country the pattern of rural social organization was that of the country neighborhood, the country church, and the one-room country school. In those days villages and farms formed two distinct sections of rural society, and there was little sense of interdependence between them. Since the World War this has been rapidly changing toward centering rural institutions in the villages and bringing together the villages and the surrounding farms in the support of these common interests as rural communities. Various factors have influenced this trend toward the reorganization of rural life on a community basis, notably better transportation by automobiles and good roads, better communication by telephone and radio, the decline of rural population over vast areas, and higher standards of living resulting from more urban contacts. By and large, the rural community is an emergent group—it is in the process of becoming.

In the past the village was chiefly a trading center and the store was its characteristic institution. Today villages are competing for the farmer's trade and in many of them business is no longer their primary service to the countryside. With the rapid growth of rural

¹ A paper delivered before a round-table session of the American Association of School Administrators, Cleveland, Ohio, February 28, 1939. See also, Dwight Sanderson, *School Centralization and the Rural Community*. Cornell Extension Bulletin 445, September 1940.

high schools and consolidated schools, the school has become the central community institution. It has had a profound influence on the formation of rural communities, for usually these new schools are possible only where village and country unite to furnish a sufficient constituency for their support.

Prior to 1910 only a few rural children ever expected to attend high school, for rural high schools were not generally available. Since then it has become an accepted objective of rural educators that rural children should be able to attend high school and live at home. As a result the growth of rural high schools has been phenomenal, and they have been a primary factor in the integration of larger rural communities. During the same period, and for similar reasons, the consolidation of schools has developed rapidly in many communities which could not support high schools, and has had the same effect on the integration of smaller rural communities.

There has also been a steady decrease of open-country churches and an increase in the number of farm families attending village churches. The village is becoming the church center. But whereas the church was formerly the chief social institution of the village, in many cases the consolidated school is now relatively more important, for it commands the support of all the people in the community. The school has, therefore, a central position in the type of rural community that is now developing.

The same factors that have brought about the new type of village-centered community have also made possible a much more complex rural organization. In the old days of mud roads there were relatively few rural organizations. Farm and Home Bureaus, 4-H Clubs, farmer's coöperative associations, and many other organizations have been made possible by better transportation and communication, which have also brought rural people into direct contact with the cities. Formerly a trip to the city was an event. Today, in large areas, the city newspaper comes to the farm daily,

and the radio brings news and entertainment from the city at all hours. With rural free delivery farm families have more magazines and weeklies, all of which come from the city. Rural life is becoming urbanized, but it is also becoming more complex within the local community. The child grows up in a more complex social environment.

Although the rural community is much more self-sufficient than is the city in times of depression, yet it is increasingly dependent upon the outside world. It becomes more and more a part of the great society.

As community life has become integrated and the rural social environment has become more complex, educational objectives have been enlarged and the school is coming to have a new appreciation of its sociological relationships to the community and to other institutions. The school no longer conceives its job to be merely the teaching of the three R's, and giving the individual intellectual tools for his personal success, but has the social objectives of making good citizens of the state and better members of the family. In short, it seeks to develop personality and character. To succeed in these social objectives the school cannot function solely within its own walls, for it learns that the community, the family, the church, and other agencies influence the personality of the child and have their part in his education. The school is, therefore, beginning to recognize that it must work with the community and that only through developing his community relations can the best socialization of the child be achieved. Thus the community is essential to the educational process. Without the concrete social environment of the rural community the school loses an important educational influence.

The rural community is peculiarly important to this end because of its relatively strong social control. Within it people are known to each other and public opinion has much more influence on the individual's behavior than in the city. The social control of the rural

community makes for a certain conservatism, which may be a healthful influence in this age of rapid change, and its more personal, primary group relationships give a satisfaction and a sense of security.

Furthermore, the rural community, in spite of the increasing complexity of its life, is so simple and concrete that the average individual can grasp the social relations involved in it, and this makes it peculiarly valuable in the social education of the young. The ordinary individual may have a satisfying status in a rural community, which is much more difficult to attain in a city.

Urban civilization suffers from an excessive individualism, and there is a necessity for creating loyalty and devotion to the common welfare if we are to maintain the basic values of a satisfying culture. City people are too easily dominated by mass psychology and swayed by the clever demagogue. In the rural community it is easier for the average citizen to grasp the local situation, to do his own thinking, and to have a definite, if humble, part in the life of the community. Because of the predominant influence of the city in contemporary western civilization it is important that a virile community life be created in the rural areas, so that we may have the contribution to the national life of a distinctive rural culture, which will make use of the utilities of modern civilization, without being dominated by them.

There is a definite danger that present tendencies toward centralization may interfere with the best development of rural communities. Many functions of local government, such as health and public welfare, have already been taken over by the county government in many States, and county functions are being absorbed or controlled by the State. Indeed, some political scientists hold that there is no need for any unit of local government smaller than the county, and some States have already gone so far as to centralize all administration of roads or schools in the State.

The fundamental issue in this whole problem seems to be that of

efficiency versus democracy. There is no question that local administration is relatively less efficient, but there may be values to a democracy in permitting communities to learn by their own mistakes. Child guidance is good; but the child who is dominated has difficulty in achieving an independent personality.

School centralization may also weaken or even destroy the rural community if it is not wisely handled, and thus may break down the organization of the child's social environment, for which there is no adequate substitute. Here again the issue seems to be between the values of certain standards of efficiency and the values of a well-integrated community as necessary to enable its people to create for themselves a satisfactory social environment. If efficiency be measured only by cost per pupil or proposed standards of curriculum content, then many a small community will be deprived of its school, whether consolidated elementary school or high school, and the value to the school of its community relations may be lost. Placing the school outside the natural community alienates community interest, and the child becomes a nonresident pupil in an alien social environment. Such a school cannot function as a social center for those who do not accept it as a part of their community.

It is obvious that there is no simple formula for solving this problem of opposing values. School consolidation is desirable and every little hamlet cannot support a satisfactory high school. What principle is there that may be safely followed in the centralization of schools? As a basic principle it would seem that the consolidation of institutions of the small community should be effected only when the institutions centralized in the larger community will serve the social and economic needs of the people better and more satisfactorily and will enable them to have a primary community of interests in the larger community because they feel that it does give them better social facilities and a larger association. To preserve a healthy social organization it is better to proceed by evolution than by revolution, and it may be better to wait until the smaller com-

munity may be naturally assimilated by the larger community. This does not mean that weak, inefficient high schools should be maintained in small communities, but that the value of the school in the community life and the preservation of as much of a community as may be possible should be given as much consideration as efficiency of cost or curriculum.

Much of the difficulty may be resolved by making a clear-cut distinction between the consolidation of attendance districts and the integration of attendance districts into a larger administrative unit. The administrative unit may be greatly enlarged with added efficiency without necessarily interfering with an attendance unit which will preserve community identity. In the United States we have long worshipped mere bigness, and this has a subtle influence on school consolidation. There is no merit in bigness for its own sake, however much satisfaction the school principal may have from having a larger fleet of school busses than neighboring schools.

A realistic analysis of this problem is not possible if we consider the rural community as a generic type of social organization. Small and large rural communities differ as much in structure and function as do the small city and the metropolis. Furthermore, rural people are no longer confined to one community, for although their primary loyalty may be to the local community it often forms part of a larger community for certain purposes. The organization of rural society is not made up of discrete rural communities, but is a system of communities. Formerly we thought of the chemical structure of matter as composed of atoms of a definite list of chemical elements. Now we know that atoms form a system of protons, electrons, and neutrons, and that atoms differ in their potential relationships. So rural organization is a *system* of communities, small and large, each having certain distinctive functions and values.

From one half to two thirds of all rural community centers are small villages of under 250 inhabitants. About one fourth are villages of from 250 to 1,000, and about one twelfth are large villages

of from 1,000 to 2,500 persons. Many towns of from 2,500 to 5,000 inhabitants are really rural, although not so classified by the Census.

In general, the small rural community, with a village of under 250, has difficulty in holding its own, and more small communities are declining in population than are the larger ones. Although the small village has one or two stores and a garage, its business is declining and it is held together by its social institutions more than by its economic life. Its church, school, and farmer's organization are its strongest bonds. It needs the school as a social center. Where community loyalty is strong and there is prospect that other community institutions will persist so that it will maintain its identity, and if there is a sufficient constituency for a sixth-grade elementary school, it may be better to maintain an elementary school in the small village than to transport the young pupils to a large school elsewhere. The small community would then form part of a larger community for high-school purposes. Many of these small communities are already being absorbed into larger communities. Where this trend seems probable, the school may be centralized, but this should not be forced on the small community if it has a sufficient constituency to maintain a satisfactory sixth-grade school. This is particularly true for the host of larger small villages with from 200 to 500 inhabitants.

The medium-sized rural community, with a village of from 500 to about 1,200, will maintain itself as a social and economic unit. It has most of the services commonly used by country people: banks, hardware and drug stores, professional men and craftsmen, lodges, and better churches. Most villages of this size are not losing population. A large proportion of these villages now have high schools, but they are small, weak, and inefficient. Where the attendance is too small to justify a senior high school, and there is a large enough constituency for a satisfactory junior high school, in many cases it may be better to have a small junior high school than to transport all high-school students to a larger center. This may warrant some

sacrifice as to cost and efficiency, for if the high school is entirely removed it will seriously weaken the community life.

The large rural community has a village of about 1,200 to 2,500. Such a village has a larger variety of services, such as motion-picture theaters, clothing stores, and is practically self-sufficient except for luxuries and expert services. This is the best place for a senior high school, which will be the central institution for integrating the larger rural community. This larger community will include several of the smaller communities, and will unite them in the maintenance of those institutions and services which they cannot support individually.

Places of from 2,500 to 5,000 inhabitants which are dependent upon a rural constituency may be called rural towns, although they tend to have more urban than rural characteristics. The high school in the rural town will probably not serve the farm families of the small communities as well as one in a large village, for it has too large a proportion of nonfarm students who will dominate its policies. However, if high-school education is to be extended to the junior-college level, the town is the natural place for a junior college to serve a rural constituency.

As previously indicated, there are situations in which it is questionable whether weak communities can or should survive. What criteria may guide a wise diagnosis of such a situation? I have elsewhere attempted to state some such criteria.

Assuming that the rural community will usually, but not necessarily, consist of a village and the tributary open-country, it should have:

1. A geographic area in which there may be habitual association of its people in the chief interests of everyday life, and in participation in its institutions and organizations.
2. An area with a sufficient constituency, or "volume of business," to permit a specialization of functions which small communities cannot support.
3. An area with sufficient wealth to support its institutions, or, lacking

this, which is a natural unit for commanding the best investment of outside aid, governmental or private.

4. An area in which the common interests or indivisible utilities and resources warrant an equalization of costs so as to afford adequate institutional services to all parts of the area.

These criteria may be summed up in terms of relative self-sufficiency, opportunity for personal association, and pooling of resources for desired institutions.²

The importance of preserving the rural community has been well recognized by the Regents' Inquiry in New York when it says with regard to the "Proper Size School District for New York State" that it should:

4. Coincide as far as possible with the natural community boundaries and where possible, with local government units so that coöperative services may be arranged, particularly in connection with health, traffic control, planning, recreation, the joint use of plant, and proper management of public debt;

5. Keep the schools and the government of the schools close to the people so that the citizens generally, including the parents and taxpayers, may know what their schools are doing, may have an effective voice in the school program, and may participate in the community use of the school building.

These last two factors, relation of the school to the natural community and closeness of the school to the people, are of first-rate educational significance and are not to be sacrificed in the interest of "efficiency." If such a sacrifice is made to establish economical districts, we will find in a generation that something of deep significance which money cannot buy has been destroyed.³

My plea, then, is not against centralization or consolidation as such, for it is a process which is necessary and desirable, but that in this process the importance of preserving and strengthening com-

² From my article "Criteria of Rural Community Formation" in *Rural Sociology*, December 1938.

³ Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, *Education for American Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938), pp. 89-90.

munity life be given equal consideration with factors of cost and efficiency. The education of the individual is not the sole objective of the school; it must also aid in creating a fine social environment, for otherwise the school will be unable to achieve its primary function of giving the individual the best sort of education. Furthermore, the responsibility of the school must not be conceived as solely for the child. The school is just entering the field of adult education. As adult education becomes a larger phase of its program, the importance of the school as a community center will increase.

The improvement of the rural community and its institutions is the best means of building a rural culture with distinctive values, which will strengthen our whole society, and the school, particularly the high school, has a major responsibility for assisting the process of rural community organization. There are values in integration, but there are also values in the individual differences of communities as well as of individuals. In the process of perfecting a reorganization of the attendance areas and administrative districts of rural schools there is the opportunity for creating a better pattern for rural society. School district reorganization means setting a new pattern for rural organization not only for tomorrow, but for generations to come. It is a turning point in the organization of rural society. School administrators have a heavy responsibility to see that this pattern is such as will make possible a better social organization of rural communities rather than one which will disintegrate them, for they have the opportunity of a century to create the plan by which a fine rural culture can be built.

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A STATE REBUILDS THE SCHOOLS OF ITS RURAL AREAS

THE CENTRAL RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

JULIAN E. BUTTERWORTH

During the last twenty years a movement looking toward improvement in the educational provisions for rural people has been under way in New York. So significant is this movement for the development of a better type of rural living that a brief statement regarding it and its results seems useful.

The major factor in this program is the central rural school district; but, naturally, what is accomplished through it will depend largely upon the personnel. While first recognition should be given to the leadership of the Commissioner of Education and of the Division of School Administrative Services, so ably directed by Ray P. Snyder, too much credit cannot be given to those district superintendents, principals, school board members, and patrons throughout the rural areas of the State who have caught the vision of what may be achieved.

The major provisions of the Law. The Education Law of New York provides for the laying out of central districts "... in any territory, exclusive of a city school district conveniently located for the attendance of scholars and of suitable size for the establishment of central schools to give instruction usually given in the common schools and in high schools, including instruction in agriculture." The plan for this type of district is made locally with or without advice from the State Education Department, but the approval of the Commissioner of Education gives opportunity for the State to influence the establishment of such districts so that the best possible provision may be made for all the children in that section of the State. The adoption is made by the locality, the entire area of the proposed centralization voting as a unit so that the proposal for the new district may not be defeated by one or more constituent districts

representing a minority. A board of education of five members has responsibility for all educational policies within the new district except that the first six grades may not be discontinued unless the people in the area constituting the original district so vote. State aid of several types is provided. There is an "equalization quota" based upon the general program of equalization in the State. Briefly, this provides for the maintenance of a minimum educational program at a local tax rate of five mills on the equalized valuation. A central district is entitled, furthermore, to an "additional quota" which includes the aid granted to the original constituent districts before centralization took place. Furthermore, the central district, like all districts, receives a transportation quota amounting to one half the cost of transportation service. The central district is entitled also to one fourth of the cost of the school building, providing the plans for the building have been approved by the Commissioner of Education.¹ The transportation and the building quotas are given only if the expenditures for schools by the district shall exceed a sum equivalent to a five-mill tax on the assessed valuation.

Underlying conceptions. Three are worthy of special mention: (1) It is the evident intention to develop a local unit able to provide a reasonably adequate educational program for those living in rural areas (having less than 4,500 population). (2) Since the plans for the district originate locally and must be approved by the people of the locality, local initiative and decision are stressed. However, since final decision is in the hands of the State, there may be as much or as little guidance as is deemed necessary to protect the interests of the children. This latter provision aids in reducing the number of cases of gerrymandering for the purpose of bringing into the central district those areas with the most wealth where transportation responsibilities would be relatively small. The system of State aid also contributes to this end. (3) The district is planned along lines that

¹ *New York Education Law, 1936*, University of the State of New York Bulletin 1095, pp. 180-186a.

generally give what may be called a "community," in the sociological sense. The basis for this is implied in the statement in the Law, "conveniently located for the attendance of scholars." Practice in the laying out of central districts generally has been in accord with this conception.²

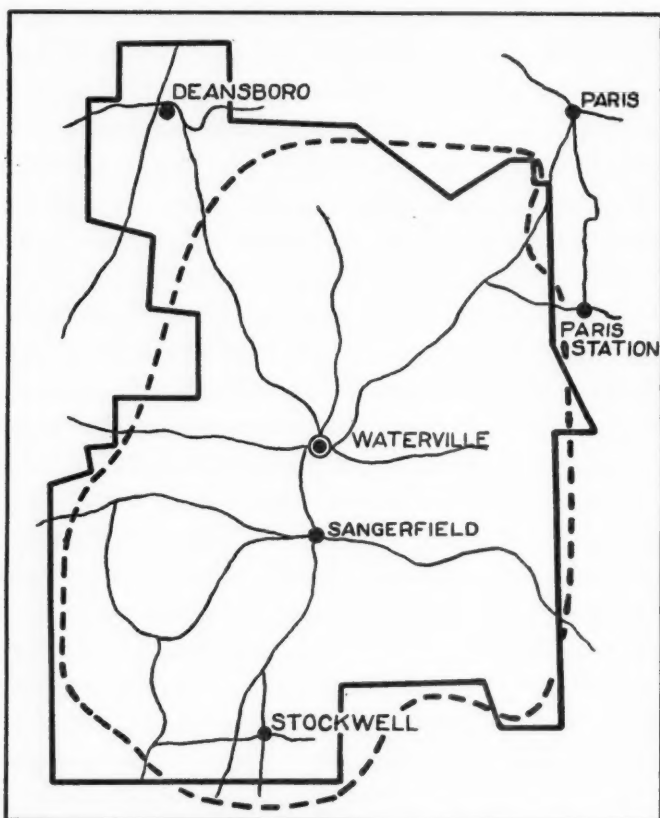
An illustration of the relationship between a sociological area and a central district may be shown through the accompanying skeletal map. It will be noted that there is a close similarity between the sociological area and the central district area, more so probably than would be found in many central districts in the State. This is partly due to the fact that, when the district was originally established in 1928, a similar sociological study had been made. At that time eleven districts were included in the centralization. Since then eight others have been added. These lie largely in the northern and in the southern parts of the district and include territory in the sociological area indicated in the original study.

Development of the district. The Central District Law was first passed in 1914.³ While similar to the present law, it was different in several particulars, especially in the fact that there were no such liberal provisions for State assistance as now exist.

During the years 1919-1922 a comprehensive study was made of rural-school conditions in New York State. The committee in charge (designated as the "Committee of Twenty-One") consisted of representatives from seven organizations within the State: the Grange, the Farm Bureau, the Home Bureau, the Dairymen's League, the State Department of Education, the State Teachers Association, and the State College of Agriculture at Cornell University. The leader of this significant work was Professor George A. Works, then of Cornell University, now of the University of Chicago. Mention is made of this study because of the recommendation

² See *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Education Department*, 1926. Volume 1, p. 62. The Report for 1929 (pp. 40-43) describes the procedures followed in the establishment of a typical central school from the inception of the idea to the completion of the project.

³ *Education Law*, 1914, University of the State of New York Bulletin 579, pp. 180-186.



A skeletal map showing the relationship between the sociological ("village-most-visited") area (dotted line) and the central district (continuous line), Waterville. As of 1933.⁴

⁴From W. G. Mather, Jr., T. H. Townsend, and Dwight Sanderson, *A Study of Rural Community Development in Waterville, N. Y.*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 608 (June 1934). The present writer assumes that the reader is familiar with the concept of the rural community and with the customary techniques for determining its boundaries. Those seeking information along this line are referred to the pioneer study by C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* (University of Wisconsin Research Bulletin 34) or to one of several published at Cornell University; for example, Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York* (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 614).

that the basic school district in the rural area be a community district laid out along sociological lines.⁸ After an extensive campaign of education among the rural people of the State, probably the most extensive that has taken place in New York since the discussion leading to the passage of the free school act in 1867, the proposals for the establishment of the community district were defeated in the legislature. However, sufficient interest was aroused that it became possible to vitalize the 1914 Central District Law through new State-aid provisions. These provisions came about not only because of the study just mentioned but because of a study of State aid that had taken place during the years 1923-1925.⁹

While it is believed that the study and discussion carried on during the period 1919-1925 had created an unusual interest in the problem of improving rural education, one must admit that in all probability it is the State aid that has been most effective in bringing about the creation of two hundred and sixty-nine central school districts.

Information regarding these districts is given in the accompanying table. It will be noticed that there has been an acceleration in the rate of centralization, sixty-five taking place during the first five years; eighty-three during the second five years; and one hundred and twenty during the last five years. No centralizations were formed during the academic year 1939-1940 because of a moratorium that had been decreed by the legislature. This moratorium has now been removed. It will also be noticed from this table that there has been a tendency for the average size of the district to increase as indicated both by the number of original districts included in the centralization and the area in square miles. For example, in 1924-1925 an average of 3.6 original districts went into each centraliza-

⁸ G. A. Works and others, *Rural School Survey of New York State*. Volume I, pp. 208-211. The entire survey appears in ten volumes published in 1922.

⁹ Paul R. Mort and others, *State Aid for the Public Schools in the State of New York*. Albany: Special Joint Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment of the Legislature of the State of New York, 1925.

tion; in 1930-1931, this had risen to 12.6; in 1938-1939, to 16.1. In the formation of these centralizations, a total of 3,495 districts has been included. The total number of districts in the State has, therefore, been reduced through centralization during these years by 3,126.

DATA REGARDING CENTRAL RURAL-SCHOOL DISTRICTS,
1924-1925 TO 1938-1939⁷

Year	Number of Central Districts Formed	Number of Original Districts Included	Average Number of Original Districts Included	Total Number of Original Districts Included	Average Valuation (Millions)	Average Area (Sq. miles)	Number of Average Pupils
1924-25	3	11	3.6	11	2.2	26.3	335
1925-26	20	91	4.5	102	1.8	63.4	235
1926-27	12	79	6.5	183	1.4	40.0	217
1927-28	13	67	5.1	253	.6	56.2	193
1928-29	17	136	8.0	398	1.6	42.5	298
1929-30	20	169	8.4	583	1.7	40.2	545
1930-31	52*	659	12.6	1,285	1.7	64.5	422
1931-32	3	41	13.6	1,344	1.9	55.0	481
1932-33	2	24	12.0	1,374	2.1	53.5	400
1933-34	6	81	13.3	1,462	2.4	93.5	379
1934-35	11	143	13.0	1,622	2.9	47.6	490
1935-36	24	339	14.2	1,982	1.8	55.9	524
1936-37	15	261	17.4	2,282	3.2	78.4	633
1937-38	27	420	15.5	2,758	2.7	69.6	530
1938-39	43	692	16.1	3,495	3.0	68.6	599

* Youngsville was formed before the Central School Law was amended, received State aid for the first time January 1931. It does not appear as one of the central districts organized at that time.

What has been achieved? It is evident that there has been a simplification of local administrative machinery so that a situation favorable for the improvement of the educational program has been created. Unfortunately, there appears to be no specific data showing exactly what has happened to the program due to centralization. It would not be fair to attribute all improvement to the process of centralization because during these fifteen years there has been an

⁷ Prepared by Francis G. Griffin of the State Education Department.

extension of the educational program in all areas. However, one familiar with what has taken place in this State could make certain generalizations with a fair degree of confidence. By law, agriculture is to be taught in all central rural-school districts. Home economics is taught in practically all of them. Music, drawing, and industrial arts are found less frequently but probably in the great majority of the schools. One cannot help being impressed by the degree to which instruction in music through voluntary organizations, such as glee clubs, bands, orchestras, and so on, has taken place. Health programs have been given much consideration: many of these districts have employed a school nurse; some have established dental clinics. Adult education has been stimulated but not to the degree that one might expect or hope. One study^a gives data along this line for a limited number (15) of the central schools. Ten reported adult activities in dramatics; 5 in dinners and banquets; 8 in dances; 7 in athletic activities; 5 in music; 4 in films; 1 in minstrel shows; and 1 in community Christmas. This same study shows assemblages for other than entertainment as follows: lectures 4; study group 1; educational films and slides 1; music study and appreciation 2; such miscellaneous activities as garden clubs, farm bureaus, political rallies, historical societies, and so on, 5. Two schools of the 15 reported a gross attendance at adult functions during the school year 1935-1936 as 30,000 or above. The majority, however, showed a gross attendance of between 3,000 and 4,000.

An intangible factor that must not be overlooked is the evidence of pride that the people in these communities take in their new school. The writer has visited many of the school board meetings held annually in this State and has been impressed with the quality of the board member; one cannot help feeling that these communities have chosen the more alert and able members for their boards of education.

^aEugene T. Stromberg, *The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization*. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 699 (June 1938).

Some problems. Many who have seen the benefits of centralization have been desirous of extending these benefits to the approximately two thirds of the rural areas of the State not yet centralized. How may this be done? First, it is possible, of course, to complete the task through voluntary centralization. Based upon the number of districts established during the last fifteen years, one might think that it would take approximately thirty more years in which to complete this task. However, as has been noted, the rate of centralization has constantly accelerated so that, in all probability, the time required would be less than that just indicated; how much less would depend upon such factors as the financial ability of the State, the demands made upon the school, the quality of the educational leadership, and the like. A second procedure would be to require by law that the remaining areas be centralized. A bill to this effect was introduced into the legislature two years ago but did not get out of committee, due largely, according to popular belief, to the opposition of leading rural organizations. This does not mean that the leaders in those organizations are not in favor of centralization, but rather to the fact that the proposal was put forth without a preliminary education of the rural people. It would now appear that if a bill compelling centralization is finally passed, this will not be until a larger share of the State has actually been centralized by voluntary procedures. A third solution seems more sensible and more likely of adoption. This would provide for a State-wide survey that would lay out all rural areas into proposed centralizations. With these proposals before the people in the various localities, it would be possible to discuss concretely the actual effects of a policy of centralization. A bill to this effect has been introduced into the legislature but has not yet been accepted.

Another problem relates to the financing of these districts. It is evident that the State has been liberal with the central districts. To many of us this can be justified on the grounds that it is necessary if the rural areas are to develop an educational program even approxi-

mately comparable to the educational opportunities given city children. Some favor a liberal policy but think that the State has been too generous. There appears to be no readily available data regarding the percentage of the current expenditures of central districts paid by the State. However, in 1937-1938 the average percentage of total receipts contributed by the State was approximately seventy-one per cent.⁹ This percentage represents receipts for all purposes, including debt service and capital outlay. In that year the highest percentage in any central district paid by the State was 91.2; the lowest, 21.6. Particular criticism has been leveled against the building quota, the claim being made that building provisions have been too elaborate. Opinion may well differ on this but one may suspect that the judgment of future generations will be determined largely by what happens in the economic development of this State during the next fifty years. If wealth increases, the citizen of a generation hence may well speak with pride of the farsightedness of his predecessors who planned this educational unit. However, should economic conditions become difficult, there will undoubtedly be severe criticism. The present writer would venture the judgment that, while some districts have planned buildings that have stressed costly, aesthetic features, most communities have not been sufficiently farsighted in planning for the housing of school-community activities that at present seem inevitable in an educational program meeting adequately the needs of rural communities.¹⁰

There has been some criticism on the part of school people because of what they consider an overemphasis of the sociological concept in laying out central school districts. There is no doubt but that some of these districts are so small that the offering of a really effective program is impossible. The belief seems to be growing that, while the sociological factors should not be neglected, it will often

⁹*Public School Finances*, University of the State of New York Bulletin No. 1181, 1940, pp. 126-142.

¹⁰A recent volume offers many helpful suggestions along this line. See Engelhardt and Engelhardt, *Planning the Community School* (New York: American Book Company, 1940).

be necessary to throw into one central district two or more sociological communities. The expectation would be that the unifying influence of the school, including a program of transportation, would bring about an ultimate integration of these sociological units into larger community areas.

When should an elementary school be maintained in a hamlet? In the Waterville area illustrated by the map, three other centers are found: one with a population of 100; a second of 30; a third of 230. Upon the theory that no hamlet with a significant community life should be without a school, one may defend the establishment of an elementary school in at least some of these smaller centers. The factors that should govern decisions of this sort need further study.

Perhaps the most significant problem of all is how the school and the community may be brought into more fruitful coöperation. The school should not be thought of as the agency of the community alone; rather, it represents the interests of a larger society, working in and through the local community. Effective educational programs cannot be planned and effective instruction made without a utilization of the resources that exist within the community and a recognition of the lacks that exist therein. To this end type surveys of social and economic communities need to be made for the use of teachers and administrators. Parent-teacher associations, NYA programs, health programs, and land-use committees are illustrations of groups and activities that may have influence in integrating more effectively the school and the community. Each of us needs to enlarge his vision of the opportunities along these lines that the central district provides.

Even with these larger units of local administration, certain types of educational activities, frequently thought to be desirable, commonly cannot be provided. Such, for example, are: a complete health program; a more extensive vocational program, particularly in industrial education; provision for the care of handicapped children; a really effective guidance and attendance service; and an eco-

nomical transportation program. These illustrate certain kinds of activities that may be carried on through the coöperation of a number of central districts. Such coöperation would presumably come through some larger unit of the intermediate type. Its area would depend upon a number of factors not yet clearly envisioned. It would perform the same function that the county does in other States where this unit has significant influence in the administration of the educational program.

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THE INTERACTION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Summary of the discussion at the joint meeting of the Association of Rural Sociologists and the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society at the annual meeting in Chicago on December 27 and 28, 1940.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES¹

JULIAN E. BUTTERWORTH

Cornell University

In accepting the invitation of your societies to present for discussion a paper on the interaction of school and community, the writer has understood it to be his function to bring before you a wide range of problems pressing for solution in this field. It is evident, however, that a permanent solution of any one of them can be made only in terms of underlying principles. It has, therefore, appeared essential to set up a conception of action in this field—to establish a sort of framework of principles within which to present and discuss the several specific problems.

The term "principles" is here used not as universally valid truths but rather as "hypotheses with which to experiment."² These principles are the generalizations representing the most defensible basis for conduct in dealing with the several problems. They may be thought of as guides to action that should be modified as conditions change, as new facts are discovered, or as greater insight is developed.

We who work in the fields of sociology and education, where varying personalities and groups interact in widely differing environments, realize the tentative nature of many of our generaliza-

¹ For supporting arguments, see the December 1940 issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.

² John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1922), p. 239.

tions. Nevertheless, there is an advantage in stating as accurately as possible the generalizations basic to practice in our respective fields.

1. Since education is a continuous process that utilizes all experience, it is essential, if we are to develop an educational program of maximum effectiveness, that we study critically the opportunities and responsibilities not only of the school but of all other significant agencies in the community.

2. Although educational thinkers are not in agreement as to the degree to which a program of public education should be or may be built upon life needs, the trend appears to be distinctly toward an emphasis of activities that will develop the various abilities required for meeting the demonstrable responsibilities of life.

3. The school should not undertake to create directly through instruction a "new social order." It should transmit those knowledges, ideals, attitudes, and habits that appear desirable for meeting life's responsibilities (including an inculcation of those concepts that the community and its larger society hold to be essential), and should develop willingness and ability to appraise with an open mind new proposals for dealing with social and economic problems.

4. In building its curriculum the school should recognize those lacks in the community that create problems in pupil development and adjustment and should employ all types of community resources that can be economically and significantly utilized.

5. If the school is to stimulate the fullest development of the pupil, it cannot confine its experiences to those available in the community. Within the limits of its resources it should go as far afield as the probable life needs of the pupils warrant.

6. The school is not the exclusive agency of the (local) community; rather, it represents that larger society of which the community is a part, working in and with the community and its various constituent individuals and groups.

7. In making effective the conception of the educative process here outlined, certain activities affecting the welfare of citizens (li-

THE INTERACTION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Summary of the discussion at the joint meeting of the Association of Rural Sociologists and the Educational Sociology Section of the American Sociological Society at the annual meeting in Chicago on December 27 and 28, 1940.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES¹

JULIAN E. BUTTERWORTH

Cornell University

In accepting the invitation of your societies to present for discussion a paper on the interaction of school and community, the writer has understood it to be his function to bring before you a wide range of problems pressing for solution in this field. It is evident, however, that a permanent solution of any one of them can be made only in terms of underlying principles. It has, therefore, appeared essential to set up a conception of action in this field—to establish a sort of framework of principles within which to present and discuss the several specific problems.

The term "principles" is here used not as universally valid truths but rather as "hypotheses with which to experiment."² These principles are the generalizations representing the most defensible basis for conduct in dealing with the several problems. They may be thought of as guides to action that should be modified as conditions change, as new facts are discovered, or as greater insight is developed.

We who work in the fields of sociology and education, where varying personalities and groups interact in widely differing environments, realize the tentative nature of many of our generaliza-

¹ For supporting arguments, see the December 1940 issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.

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tions. Nevertheless, there is an advantage in stating as accurately as possible the generalizations basic to practice in our respective fields.

1. Since education is a continuous process that utilizes all experience, it is essential, if we are to develop an educational program of maximum effectiveness, that we study critically the opportunities and responsibilities not only of the school but of all other significant agencies in the community.

2. Although educational thinkers are not in agreement as to the degree to which a program of public education should be or may be built upon life needs, the trend appears to be distinctly toward an emphasis of activities that will develop the various abilities required for meeting the demonstrable responsibilities of life.

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6. The school is not the exclusive agency of the (local) community; rather, it represents that larger society of which the community is a part, working in and with the community and its various constituent individuals and groups.

7. In making effective the conception of the educative process here outlined, certain activities affecting the welfare of citizens (li-

brary, health, and recreation programs, etc.) that have been provided through special agencies in the community (or, in some cases, have not been provided at all) are allocated in whole or in part to the school in order that their contributions to pupil development may be more completely utilized. At the present time it appears to be impossible to indicate in detail the nature of the coöperation that should take place between the school and other agencies in the community. This problem offers, therefore, a real opportunity to use scientific method: to describe more exactly the results desired; to analyze functions of various agencies within the community; and to experiment with different forms of coöperation under varying conditions.

8. It is not clear how far the community as a unit now does or will in the future tend to formulate definite objectives; neither is it clear as to what, precisely, those objectives would be if they were formulated. Whether much or little is done along this line, community needs will be discovered that will call for the constructive effort of various agencies. The community has a right to expect the coöperation of the school in meeting these needs so far as facilities permit, but it should recognize that the school's primary responsibility of providing an effective education for children and young people cannot safely be neglected.

9. The community council appears to be one useful means whereby a community may study itself and its activities, discover its lacks, and seek assistance in overcoming them.

10. Although the principle of the residual functions of the school is sound, there must be continued study of local educational conditions from the point of view of determining what responsibilities should be assumed by the school; what by other agencies; and what should be regarded as of mutual concern.

11. The development of sound interactions between the school and the community requires a continuing program of discussion regarding their respective and mutual needs and opportunities.

12. Desirable school-community relationships may be promoted if the local unit of school control can be so planned as to be coterminous with the sociological community.

DISCUSSION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES

GEORGE A. WORKS

The University of Chicago

By his discussion of the topic, "Interaction of School and Community in a Democratic Society," Dr. Butterworth has rendered a distinct service to both sociologists and educators. Especially is this true in the case of those workers whose interests are primarily identified with rural life. His treatment of the subject has brought into relief many of the problems involved, with suggested solutions in some instances, and in others means are pointed out by which approaches to solutions may be made. His final thesis, "Desirable school-community relationships may be promoted if the local school unit of school control can be so planned as to be coterminous with the sociological community," and the last sentence of the paper, "Our two groups should coöperate in attacking the problem," is especially pertinent in view of the dawning realization on the part of some sociologists and some educators that in our enthusiasm for the consolidation of schools in rural areas we have frequently overlooked the importance of regarding the school as an integral part of the community. It appears that conditions are such that much would be gained if a group of rural sociologists and rural educators were to give serious consideration to the implications of this last thesis.

This seems to be the place to point out that apparently Dr. Butterworth's discussion at several points implies a dualism of school and community that may obscure our thinking regarding the problems involved unless care is exercised. This dualism is implied in the last sentence of thesis no. 8, "The community has a right to expect the coöperation of the school in meeting these needs so far as facilities

permit, but it should recognize that the school's primary responsibility of providing an effective education for children and young people cannot be safely neglected." In the course of the discussion of this thesis Dr. Butterworth says: "What many persons seem not to realize, however, is that in most schools the staff now has a full-time job and, even though the members may help in the adult program, demands must be kept within reason. In general, we may say that as the school undertakes new services, whether at the request of the community or on its own initiative, there should be adequate increase in facilities whether of plant, personnel, or equipment." Would it not be more to the point to indicate that the activities schools are now handling should be assessed in view of new demands that are arising instead of assuming a place for all of the things they are now doing? Fortunately the school does stand as an apostle of tradition, but I am certain Dr. Butterworth would be one of the first to acknowledge the danger of overemphasis on this aspect. Schools, especially those in rural areas, suffer from over-conservatism.

Finally, I wish to make reference to the importance of a better understanding between the schools and other institutions whose work impinges on the field of education. This would include such agencies as those dealing with welfare, recreation, health, and the extension service of the land-grant colleges. The development of these agencies has been rapid in recent years. Practically all are suffering from growing pains with the result that it has been difficult for them to formulate their own objectives, to say nothing about understanding those of other organizations. This is not an argument for any given administrative formula, only a plea that sufficient time be taken by the workers in the several agencies involved in the educational life of the rural community to sit in conference long enough to get an understanding of the work each is doing. Such an understanding is essential to the development of better working relationships.

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

Furman University

These remarks comprise a series of suggestions for action in the field of school-community relationships in rural America, rather than a contribution to rural sociological theory. The discussion has two purposes: first, to summarize possible types of relationships between school and community as set forth in Dr. Butterworth's paper, using a different classification; second, to indicate ways in which rural sociologists may be concerned in the interaction of school and community.

It is difficult to describe the effect of a whole on one of its parts. Yet for analytical purposes it may be profitable to point out some of the ways in which the community affects the school, as brought out by Dr. Butterworth. In the first place the community culture sets the limits within which the school may function. A community is best viewed as an organic, cultural entity; and the school, functioning as an important element in the community, must be in tune with other phases of the culture. The objectives and methods of the school must not run too violently counter to the local folkways and mores. A more tangible way in which the community affects the school is through financial support, since the local community usually shares the burden of education with the State.

The nature of the community is coming to be more and more important in determining the curriculum of the school. Recent curriculum revision efforts for the most part have been posited on the hypothesis that many activities of the school should be built on the needs of the community. A community survey is held to be essential before the optimum curriculum can be constructed. For example, the health needs of the community should be utilized in planning health education for the children. Conditions of employment in the community should influence the vocational guidance and training afforded by the school. On this matter of community needs

determining the curriculum of the school, however, Dr. Butterworth's warning that the school cannot confine its experiences to those available in the community is well given. There may be real danger in overemphasizing the local community in the education of the child. This would be especially true in regions such as the southern Appalachians, the cotton belt, or the Lake States cut-over area which annually export a sizable proportion of their youth and young adults to other regions.

Next, there should be certain relationships between the community and teaching methods in the school. One aspect of this consists largely in the proper use of community resources by the teacher. Pupil interest in community situations may be useful in stimulating interest in a particular subject field, or community facts may be used as subject matter in and of themselves. The community affords innumerable opportunities for field trips, demonstration projects, and the like. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that good pedagogy presupposes familiarity by the teacher with the cultural milieu from which the pupils come.

To this point, our summary of Dr. Butterworth's points has indicated that the community limits, both culturally and financially, the functioning of the school; that the community should serve as a weather vane indicating the direction of the school's activities; and, finally, that the community can serve as a valuable resource in teaching. Dr. Butterworth further indicates ways in which the school may be affecting the community.

Obviously, one such relationship exists in the fact that the school is educating children, many of whom will be future citizens of the community. But the school is often no longer satisfied to restrict its activities to working with children but is feeling responsibility for adult education. This may be general or cultural; or it may be practical education in the field of agriculture, shopwork, or home economics; or it may be merely providing opportunity for discussion of vital issues.

This last type of adult education often leads to community improvement efforts, perhaps through a community council. Because of its importance as a community institution, the school should play a significant part in community development. School administrators and teachers are important community leaders, actual or potential. Dr. Butterworth hints that, if the school takes a major role in community development, there is danger of effective education for children and young people being neglected. In an experience in rural community organization in a southern county, just the reverse has resulted when the school has taken the lead in the formation of a council.¹ In several rural communities the school curriculum has been revised, teaching methods have been revolutionized, and pupil interest has been increased measurably through the promotion by the school of local community development. It is the opinion of the writer that such activity by the school offers much more possibility for improvement than neglect of pupil education.

Another effect of school upon community which might have merited Dr. Butterworth's attention has to do with what school consolidation has done to the rural neighborhood, still thought by some to have a significant place in rural society because of its primary group nature. Indications are that a fairly general result has been a hastening of the breakdown of the rural neighborhood as a cultural entity.

A final type of relationship discussed by Dr. Butterworth is the reciprocal one between the school and all other institutions and agencies in the community. All phases of community life are participating together in the educational program, each influencing the other. Where should the programs merge? Where do responsibilities reside? The conclusion that the function of the school is a residual one may be open to theoretical debate, but for all prac-

¹ Reference is made to the work of the Greenville (S. C.) County Council for Community Development.

tical purposes it serves as a useful guide in working out concrete situations.

In concluding this discussion, implications for rural sociology of school-community relationships will be noted. The work of rural sociologists is sometimes discussed in three divisions: teaching, research, and extension. In the first of these fields, teaching, the function of rural sociology in the preparation of teachers for schools in rural communities is clear. Prospective teachers should understand the basic characteristics of rural life and culture and how these characteristics differ from those of urban society. Furthermore, courses in rural sociology should enable these prospective teachers to understand the nature of the rural community as well as the field of rural community organization. At Furman University we have found that school administrators and teachers, after doing graduate study in these and related fields, return to their rural schools often to become outstanding leaders in community development. The challenge to the teacher of rural sociology, on the undergraduate as well as the graduate level, is evident.

From the field of research, several possible contributions of rural sociologists are worthy of mention. Demonstration research studies may be helpful in clarifying school-community relationships. A recent example is H. L. Fulmer's *An Analytical Study of a Rural School Area*.² However, it is not expected that such a comprehensive study could or should be made for even a small proportion of rural-school situations. In all communities, however, there is probably a place for a modified form of fact finding. Rural sociologists are in a position to train prospective teachers and school administrators in research methods so that they will be in a position better to assist local groups in fact finding. The plea is made here for fact finding by local citizens, with direction by the expert, rather than highly complicated surveys by outsiders. The point is that the former is more productive of democratic social action. There is need for a simple manual on techniques of fact finding in rural communities.

² Clemson College, South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 320, 1939.

Finally, the extension rural sociologist is on the firing line, so to speak. He must be working constantly with school-community relationships, endeavoring to aid rural-community institutions and agencies in working out their relationship to the school and perhaps seeking to assist the school in deciding what gaps it should attempt to fill in the life of the community. The latter is feasible only when the school welcomes such guidance. If one may risk a generalization, it is ventured that rural-sociology extension recognizes the many and varied residual functions of the school in a community more often than do school administrators.

Rural sociologists should keep abreast of the rapidly changing ideas in rural education and stand ready to assist wherever possible. Educators, on the other hand, should recognize and utilize the potential contributions of rural sociology to their field.

MARION B. SMITH

Louisiana State University

Dr. Butterworth refers in his first principle to "an educational program of maximum effectiveness." In other places in his paper he refers to "a really effective program" and "an effective education." The question arises as to just what is the criteria of an effective program. Has there been any agreement as to what constitutes an effective education? According to a great portion of the public-school patrons the effectiveness of the educational program is measured by the increase in the economic earnings of those who attend and those who complete the school program. The function of the school, according to that point of view, is to prepare the students so that they can make more money than their parents did or do.

Another point of view is implied in Conrad Taeuber's article in the December issue of *Rural Sociology*. According to his implications, the effectiveness of a rural-school program is indicated by the extent of migration of the youth from their communities. Communities which are able to provide "superior facilities" stimulate migra-

tion away from the areas; whereas in communities with "meager educational facilities" there is relatively little migration.

A third criterion which is pointed to by certain socioeducational leaders is that the "effectiveness of the educational program" should be considered in terms of improvement of life within a community—better health conditions, less illiteracy, more adequate recreational facilities available to the children and youth, closer and more harmonious relationship between the open-country and the village populations, and many more.

The difficulty in reaching a point of agreement in establishing criteria of "effective education" comes through the disagreement as to the primary function of the schools. Is it to develop the individual or to serve to improve society and the community? Obviously the development of the individual may not be synonymous with improvement of the community. If the school is to serve to train the natural leaders of a community to feel that making a success in life means that they must go to other parts of the country—the great cities—it is then actually weakening rather than benefiting the community which supports it.

An effective educational program, it seems, must be considered in terms of both individual and community development. The individual can and should be trained so that he will be a great source of strength and benefit to the community. If a distinction is to be made between individual and community development in that one must be regarded as more fundamental than the other, the school as the agent of the community must place the welfare of that social body ahead of the training of the child for individual achievement.

Dr. Butterworth states that the school "should recognize those lacks in the community that create problems in pupil development and adjustment and should employ all types of community resources that can be economically and significantly utilized." He further states, "although the principle of the residual functions of the school is sound, there must be continued study of local educational conditions from the point of view determining what respon-

sibilities should be assumed by the school; what by other agencies; and what should be regarded as of mutual concern." Accepting the validity of the above statements raises the question of who shall analyze the communities to determine their lacks and educational resources? Who is to determine the residual functions belonging to the schools in the different communities? The principle of residual functions implies study of the communities to see what necessary activities are adequately provided by other institutions, such as the homes, the churches, the local governments, and the like, and what is required of the schools.

Shall independent sociologists be employed to make the community surveys? Will teachers know how to use the results of community studies after they are made? Can teachers themselves be expected to make community observations of sufficient merit to meet the needs of the communities and the schools? If one examines the usual rural school in America he will note little regard for the communities and their needs. Such community consciousness would be evidenced by an educational program planned around the life activities of the particular children attending the institutions. Such a program is seldom found. Teachers obviously have not regarded the functions of the schools as residual.

Certainly the educational leadership must be provided by the teachers and educational administrators. That statement brings up another problem insofar as rural schools are concerned, at least, which goes beyond the bounds of the rural communities to the teacher-training institutions. Teachers must be trained to recognize that education is for life in the community or in some community. Teachers must be trained so that they can analyze community needs and resources. The great problem in community analysis, it seems, is to reorganize our teacher-training courses for rural schools.

In closing, Dr. Butterworth raises the question: "Should the school program be planned for the sociological community (in contrast to the neighborhood) even though the services thereby provided are inadequate; or should a reasonably comprehensive

program on the twelve-grade level be established for some fairly homogeneous area, often including more than a single sociological community, with the probable result of developing a new community within the service area of the school?" Why must the school program planned for a sociological community or even for two or more such area groups be in contrast to that planned for the neighborhood? Why may neighborhood schools not be supplementary to a community system? If neighborhood schools are retained for the young children through at least the third grade, they serve as centers of neighborhood interest as well as institutions for preparing primary children for the upper elementary grades and high school. The neighborhood schools for the very young children have the advantages of having small groups of children of approximately the same age levels being trained in the familiar environment of their neighborhood near their parents and homes. Neighborhood schools for young children are not in opposition to the consolidated units for older children in any sense. Such primary schools serve as preparatory institutions for the larger institutions wherein the needs are different. Because a large supporting area is required for a State university one does not hear suggestions that all high schools should be consolidated into one institution centrally located in the State. Because a large supporting area is required for the upper elementary grades and a still larger area is often desirable for high schools, it does not follow that similar area and similarly large groups of children are required for the primary grades. Let us keep our neighborhood schools as social centers and as institutions to train our very young children in a familiar and congenial environment.

SUMMARY OF GENERAL DISCUSSION

FRANCIS J. BROWN

New York University

It is apparent that there is complete agreement among all discussants, both on the panel and from the floor, on four general state-

ments: (1) While the rural community, more than the urban, has retained cultural autonomy, it is not self-sufficient, and is increasingly influenced by economic and cultural forces of the State and the nation. (2) The school has failed adequately to meet the needs of the rural community. (3) There should be an organic relationship between the school and the other agencies in the community. (4) There is need for a careful sociological survey of the local community as a basis for a continuous evaluation of the educational program. There is some disagreement as to whether this survey should be conducted by "experts" or should be an informal self-analysis.

The points of disagreement are only partially a matter of the degree to which the principle is acceptable but for many they represent basic differences in point of view.

On the one hand are those who assert that the school should directly reflect the interests and life of the local community; on the other are those who believe that the school program should bear very little relationship to its locale; in fact, the effectiveness of education is in direct proportion to the number who *leave* the community.

Again, some have said that the schools should continually expand their activities until they comprehend the total welfare of the child; others have with equal vigor defended the position that the school should assume only residual functions—those needs of the child not adequately met through other community agencies, and its function is one only of referring such needs to appropriate agencies.

And, finally, there are those who believe that the school should exert courageous leadership in the organization of community life through creating community councils under the direct aegis of school authorities; but there are also those who believe that the school should recognize that its prime function is and should remain the inculcation of the cultural heritage and the development of essential skills.

Insofar as these differences represent basic disagreement in edu-

cational philosophy, they cannot be resolved. Rather than concluding this discussion on a note of disparity may I say in all candor and sincerity that the prime curse of American education today is the dominance of our "either-or" attitude toward educational issues.

It is not should the school reflect the interests and life of the local community *or* meet the life needs of its pupils, but it must do both. It must constantly seek to discover basic knowledges, skills, and attitudes that function both in the local community and in the larger community of society.

Again substituting "and" for "either-or" the school should continue to carry on effectively the formal education of the child which is its primary function *and* it should assume such other responsibilities as will ensure mental attitudes and physical health conducive to such education. The school should resist excessive expansion of function resulting from sincere but overzealous enthusiasm.

The third point of difference may likewise be minimized if we will but recognize that the responsibility of the school is to serve both the child and the community, to supplement and coördinate community agencies, not to supplant and compete.

Perhaps it may be well to turn again to the example of the Great Teacher who, when troubled about many controversial issues put to him by his questioners, picked up a little child and "set the child in the midst."

AN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

W. B. JONES, JR.

The last decade has witnessed an increased interest in the unfortunate, maladjusted children known as "juvenile delinquents." Specialized courses on this subject are finding their way into the social-science curricula. Textbooks are being written for these courses. National organizations like the American Legion, the Parent-Teacher's Association, and the League of Women Voters, to mention a few, have made this topic an item of special study and emphasis through their child-welfare groups. State departments of public welfare are now recognizing the significance of this problem and are becoming more concerned about the administration and operation of the juvenile courts as well as the correctional institutions or training schools. Local groups are indicating their interest in institutes on juvenile delinquency, crime-prevention programs, recreational programs, and a closer examination of their juvenile courts and detention houses. Much significant research and social experimentation has been undertaken and recorded, making available an increasing body of scientifically determined knowledge.

Among the many important problems related to the harnessing of this interest and the application of this knowledge to the benefit of the child offender there is one which stands out among all others. It is an educational problem, in that it concerns the transmission to the public of the philosophy underlying the basic concepts of causation and treatment of delinquency. Undoubtedly, many of the lags in this field, which are apparent to any student of delinquency, are due to the fact that the philosophy underlying the treatment of juvenile offenders, as well as the structure which has been set up to implement this philosophy, represents a movement from the top down, instead of a movement from the bottom up. Unlike the movement of organized labor, which is an example of the latter, the

movement for a differential treatment of juvenile offenders has made its way slowly by vertical diffusion from the top.

The present method of the treatment of juvenile offenders in the United States consists first of a body of legislation which provides for the establishment and use of the method of treatment for juvenile offenders and second for the establishment and functioning of various practices and procedures by which this treatment is effected. There are in the United States today numerous procedures and practices for dealing with children who do not behave according to the socially accepted norms of conduct. These procedures and practices are clustered about two main public agencies; namely, the juvenile courts and the juvenile correctional or training schools. Within the last forty years there has developed in each State a body of practices which constitute a public system for the treatment of juvenile offenders.

To casual observers, the mere presence of juvenile-court laws on the statute books of most of the States, the number of juvenile courts, probation officers, detention facilities, and correctional institutions are sufficient evidence of the expression of the newer conception of the nature of antisocial behavior of children.

To more careful observers, however, the mere presence of such traits is not sufficient. Such observers note that the various procedures and practices are all directed toward the same end, the social adjustment of the juvenile offender. Because of this the practices are closely related to each other. The juvenile court has certain responsibilities toward the delinquent child; likewise, the correctional schools have certain responsibilities toward the same child. The various practices are all a part of the same system, and, theoretically at least, work together to achieve a common purpose.

Underlying the numerous statutes and more numerous and varied practices and procedures indicated above is an underlying philosophy which for all practical purposes is in the main unknown, ignored, or not accepted by the public and in a large measure by the

officials and personnel of the courts and training schools. This philosophy differs radically from the philosophy underlying the treatment of the adult offender. It does not hold the juvenile offender morally responsible for his behavior, but recognizes that a child's behavior is a response to the various factors and experiences in his social environment over which he has no control. It also includes the belief that a normal child may make many adjustments to society, the particular adjustment made depending upon the way the child is trained or directed. Hence punishment has no place in the treatment of delinquent children, since the child does not willfully violate the social code. Punishment is replaced by training, guidance, and a favorable environment which will permit socially accepted responses. This is the basis for the extension of the principle of *parens patrie* to delinquent children. The present philosophy holds that the behavior of juvenile offenders can be scientifically studied, and upon the basis of sociological, psychiatric, psychological, and medical data such behavior may be understood, explained, and controlled.

This philosophy places the primary emphasis upon the offender, in discovering the motives and reasons for the offender's antisocial behavior, the methods that may control it and the ways of guiding it. According to social jurisprudence the law would be framed and treatment prescribed upon the basis of understanding the causes of behavior and a wide latitude given the judge in prescribing procedures that would reform behavior. Such actually is the case in juvenile procedure. The law is not regarded, theoretically at least, as a separate and preëminent science, but sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and medicine take a place equally as important alongside the law in the treatment of juvenile offenders. Law, like the family, education, and religion, is regarded as a living social institution which should keep pace with cultural change and thus incorporate and utilize science, but sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and medicine take a place equally as important alongside the

law in the treatment of juvenile offenders. Moreover, this philosophy implies a new consideration toward law itself. Law should keep pace with cultural change and thus incorporate and utilize the ideas, methods, and morals developed within the culture.

Inherent in this philosophy is the recognition of the fact that the child grows and develops in a society where the multitude of personal and impersonal factors and situations in which he finds himself leave their mark and influence. Each succeeding social experience and social situation is registered in the life and personality of the child. Moreover, the child is helpless to select or control the factors, experiences, or situations which impinge upon him. "Freedom of the will" and "moral responsibility" are for the child, if not for the adult, fictions, for the child has not and cannot control the influences that have molded his personality. The constellation of physical and social characteristics, social habits, and social attitudes which make him a person are not of his choice and selection. Many determining physical characteristics are inherited, and all his social characteristics are acquired through social relationships over which he has had little if any control.

The public system for the treatment of the juvenile offender has developed in response to this ideology. The laws establishing the courts and institutions and the procedures and practices which are developed by these agencies are presumed to be for the purpose of achieving the goal of this philosophy. Throughout the various parts of the public system there is a consensus of approach which implies a continuous, unbroken expression of the basic idea of the modern philosophy and treatment; namely, the rehabilitation of maladjusted children by the development of an individual treatment program designed to produce socially accepted behavior.

This presumption does not stand, however, when the body of legislation pertaining to juvenile delinquency, the physical structure, and the various practices and procedures designed to implement the legislation are critically examined.

An integrated system, in the sociological sense, as a method and quality of functioning is conspicuous by its absence. The careful observer cannot find a continuous, unbroken expression and execution of the philosophy throughout the entire procedure, beginning with the child's appearance in court and his release from the supervision of the court or from the correctional institution and his return to the community. Instead, there is evident a striking absence of common approach, of continuous purposeful meaning to the various differentiated practices of the courts, training schools, and communities, as the latter attempt to deal with the larger aspects of the present-day problems of juvenile delinquency.

The standard public system found in most States represents a process of cultural accumulation, the various parts imperfectly adjusted or related to each other so that activity of a sort is possible, but not activity which expresses in any appreciable degree the underlying philosophy or which achieves the goal of the philosophy.

The deplorable state of ineffectiveness and failure which characterizes our present-day practices and procedures is due primarily to the lack of knowledge, inability, or the failure of the public and the functionnaires in the courts and training schools to comprehend the basic ideas underlying the modern juvenile-delinquency program. Public thinking is primarily and almost wholly emotional on this subject, and outside of a few enlightened courts and training schools there is a woeful and tragic ignorance and absence of scientific diagnosis and treatment. This is even more true in rural areas than in the cities.

This will involve a tremendous educational effort. Formal education may help some, through the social-science and education courses in the colleges and universities, but in the main, the task is one of adult education and can be accomplished only through the media of formal and informal education.

Dr. W. B. Jones, Jr., is assistant professor of sociology, University of Tennessee. He has supervised many surveys dealing with juvenile delinquency and the treatment of both juvenile and adult offenders.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send in at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

A STUDY OF THE FAMILY AND FAMILY LIFE IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

A. A. Rogers of the University of Virginia is undertaking a study whose object is primarily to investigate the Virginia family of the colonial period. The study itself has grown out of Mr. Rogers's long interest in the colonial family and the realization that there is no comprehensive work on Virginia family life.

It is intended that the account of this research when published will be comprehensive in the sense that it will depict at least what was typical in the various phases of family life. While several methods of approach have been contemplated, chief consideration is to be given to the family institution in the light of its historical and sociological development. Evidence has been established that marriage and the family were stable institutions, and among the conclusions early arrived at is one to the effect that the unity and self-sufficiency of family life in colonial Virginia promoted closer family relationships as well as extensive hospitality and the like.

Thus far in the research, available contemporary accounts have been found rather full in regard to certain phases in which the family and community regulated individual actions, and disappointingly scant concerning other phases of family relations. Nevertheless, it is believed that the study will prove of value and it is hoped that it will in general stimulate further interest in the American family and in particular serve as a base for the study of Virginia family life.

Mr. Rogers would greatly appreciate the coöperation of readers of THE JOURNAL who have data or suggestions and who will be kind enough to communicate with him at Box 1041, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia. Data of especial value would include diaries, journals, letters, and the like, which show clearly the daily life of individuals and families. So much of the usually available data pertaining to colonial life rarely include this sort of thing. Mr. Rogers seeks information about human

beings in and around the home and everyday relationships as over against the common distortion resulting from stressing that which has news value as over against that which is usual, everyday experience.

The difficulty of obtaining an accurate and detailed picture of the family especially among classes none too literate suggests among other things the varied data needed in order to get a comprehensive view of colonial family life. Throughout the present study an attempt will be made to tie up the family with the changing social situation. Here to be sure data are needed to furnish an intimate insight into family relationships as well as to give an accurate discussion of family occurrences in which family life is shown realistically.

Briefly, the primal need is for data that will show family life as it was actually lived in families of all classes; otherwise it will be hard and perhaps impossible to make a distinction between the more formal verbalized mores and the actual working mores of Virginia families.

WHITE PLAINS SURVEY OF YOUTH NEEDS

Under the general supervision of the Westchester County Children's Association, the White Plains Youth Advisory Council is sponsoring a community survey of youth needs in the City of White Plains, New York. The project was initiated at a dinner meeting in December which was attended by individuals and representatives of all interested agencies in the community. The survey is under the supervision of Brainard H. Woodward, teacher of economics at the White Plains High School, and the gathering of the data will be done by one of the high-school classes at the beginning of the second term.

The initial proposal that such a survey be made came from the White Plains Youth Advisory Council, representing a cross section of individuals and agency representatives concerned with youth problems. It is felt that to participate in such a fact-finding survey with regard to their own community will be an extremely useful and instructive experience for the young people themselves. The Council is interested not alone in having published data at the end of the year, but in the possibility of bringing information about current problems confronting youth in White Plains back to the Council for discussion and action as it is gathered. In making this a "working survey," the Council is arranging for committee participation of members interested in the special fields covered by the survey, such as school, employment, leisure-time activities, delinquency, etc.

GRANT FOR MOTION-PICTURE RESEARCH TO INDIANA UNIVERSITY

An initial grant of \$1,000 has been made by Coronet Productions, Inc., to Indiana University for educational motion-picture research. Coronet Productions have offices in Chicago and a production studio at Glenview, Illinois. The results of the research will be used by Coronet as a basis for planning and producing educational motion pictures for classroom use.

The research will be supervised by staff members of Indiana University, and its purpose under the terms of the Coronet grant is to analyze the curriculum content of grades 1-12 in order to determine those topics for which motion pictures may provide a more adequate experiential background for classroom instruction. The project is to be administered by a committee composed of Dean H. L. Smith, of the University's School of Education; Professor R. E. Cavanaugh, director of the Extension Division; Mr. L. C. Larson of the Bureau of Audio-Visual Aids and the School of Education; and two additional members of the School of Education faculty, selected by the original committee of three. The two other members of the committee are Professors Carl G. F. Franzen and Velorus Martz.

University professors will begin work immediately on four studies recommended by the local committee and accepted by Coronet Productions for providing information which their company must possess in order to develop plans for a systematic program of educational film production. Professor W. W. Wright will supervise an elementary-grade study designed to identify topics included in grades 1-6 which may be presented successfully by educational motion pictures. A project in the social-studies area for the purpose of ascertaining which social-science situations are taught most often in grades 7-12 inclusive will be directed by Professor I. O. Foster. Professor Melvin S. Lewis and Mr. John H. Dillon will supervise a study in which it is planned to determine the basic understandings and skills that are considered most important in the field of business education. Dr. Karl Bookwalter will supervise a study designed to identify, within the areas of group games, folk dancing, and fundamental rhythms, the activities which are most frequently used in each grade of the elementary and secondary schools.

James A. Larsen, vice-president of Coronet Productions, and David A. Smart, president of Coronet Productions and publisher of *Esquire* and *Coronet* magazines, were responsible for these arrangements with Indiana University, through the Bureau of Audio-Visual Aids in the Extension Division.

BOOK REVIEWS

Population, A Problem for Democracy, by GUNNAR MYRDAL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940, xiii + 237 pages.

The Gotkin Foundation lectures on the general theme "The Essentials of Free Government and the Duties of the Citizen" comprise the text of this very significant little volume.

The author does not present statistical data nor devote any considerable portion of his attention to population theories. Instead, his entire thesis is based upon the premise that differential costs of having children should be spread out among the citizens in conformity with their ability to pay. He emphasizes the fact that the decline of population in Europe and the acceptance of a constructive social and economic policy has preceded by two decades similar developments in America. Consequently, he believes it is possible for America to profit from the experiences of Europe and arrest the present decline in population before it becomes the serious problem that it was—and is—abroad.

The "laboratory" used for such "lessons" to America is Sweden which, the author believes, has made significant progress in solving this problem. He recognizes, however, that mere legislation will not be sufficient. A democratic country resists the introduction of the positive policy of dictator countries. Also, the right of women to maintain employment and of every individual to direct his own affairs still further increases opposition, such opposition taking on the added weight of a moral issue.

Despite these difficulties, the author believes that "truthful information and education" can pave the way for constructive, democratic action.

Adventuring for Democracy, by WILBUR C. PHILLIPS. New York: Social Unit Press, 1940, xvi + 380 pages.

This is an interesting biography of an "idea"—the Social Unit Plan. In brief, it is the organization of the health and social services of a community under the direction of two coördinated groups, one representing the consumer, the other the producers of both services and material goods. The block of one hundred families is the basic unit of organization.

The plan has been utilized in Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and New York. It goes a step beyond the usual activities of the community council in that it seeks not only to coördinate the activities of other agencies within the district but to establish close personal relationship with every family in

the district, through the block workers. The author believes that such a plan provides the means for carrying the principles of democracy into practice through effective participation in the betterment of social welfare.

Race, Sex and Environment, by J. R. DE LA H. MARETT. New York: Chemical Publishing Company, 1940, 342 pages.

The book is exceedingly important to sociologists since it is an attempt to explain all social phenomena upon the basis of "... mineral deficiencies of the soil and the resulting vegetable matter" (page 7). The solving of sociological problems, such as country and town, leadership, classes, war, polyandry, and population movements, is accomplished by the overemphasis upon Sir Arthur Keith's work in biochemistry. In addition to this Marett uses unilinear evolution, early Freudian psychology, plus new and outmoded ideas, and authors, upon the basis of "... a moderately protracted period of thinking..." (page 7).

The overstressing of biochemistry by Marett invalidates much of his presentation. However, it does not negate the place of biochemistry in a total analysis of society.

Saltykov and the Russian Squire, by NIKANDER STRELSKY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, 176 pages.

Saltykov-Schedrin occupies a high place among the great Russian writers of the nineteenth century. A writer of varied gifts, he won his highest distinction as a satirist. He is not only the most brilliant satirist in Russian letters but one of the outstanding satirists of all time. Turgenev justly classed him with Juvenal and Jonathan Swift. Living in the age of the Great Reforms, Saltykov with the scalpel of his satire boldly laid bare the stupidity, hypocrisy, cupidity, and vulgarity of his Russian contemporaries. It is a curious fact that while both Marx and Engels read and admired his works, Saltykov was immune to the spell of Marxist writings. He was not a revolutionist. His panacea for the ills of Russian society was spiritual regeneration. During the period from 1860 to 1880 his social ideas probably had a greater influence than those of Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, or even Tolstoy. Unlike these men, however, he has remained virtually unknown outside Russia. Professor Strelsky's book is the first longer critical study in English of his writings. As the central theme he has chosen Saltykov's portrayal of the Russian landowner, the subject on which the satirist expended the major force of his talents. Mr. Strelsky

is to be commended for sound scholarship, lucidity of expression, and sprightliness of style. His book is a noteworthy contribution toward making a great satirist and his age better known in the English-speaking world.

Child Welfare in Germany Before and After Nazism, by WALTER FRIEDLANDER and EARL D. MYERS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940, xii + 273 pages.

The authors have compiled and clearly described the history of child-welfare agencies in Germany from their earliest beginnings in the seventeenth century to the present time. Major emphasis is given to the contrast between the period of the enactment of the Child Welfare Law of 1922 under the Weimar Constitution and the orders decreed since 1933 under Hitler.

The new legislation to provide for greater fecundity of families and the present tendency to suppress private—and all religious—welfare agencies are presented in detail. The authors stress the fact that while from the point of view of legislation and administration there has been little change, there has been a profound change in the spirit of educational and social work. "In legal authority, the leading principle of the child's right to be educated according to his ability has been converted to the right of the state to form every youth into a trained follower of the new leaders of the state."

Occupational Trends in the United States, by H. DEWEY ANDERSON and PERCY E. DAVIDSON. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1940, x + 618 pages.

This is a very authoritative and comprehensive treatise of occupational trends in the United States. The authors have brought together in most usable form the reports for the occupational classes of the seven volumes of the *Census of Occupations* published from 1870 to 1930 together with certain estimates for 1940. Extensive research into industrial history and current reports has been made and, consequently, the volume contains just the sort of material desperately needed these days by those who determine policies and plans for vocational trade and industrial education. This broad study of occupational trends should be studied with care by all educators and counselors.

Social Problems, by CARL M. ROSENQUIST. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940, 519 pages.

This text is to be distinguished from many other books in the field in a number of ways. The core around which Rosenquist's discussion is integrated lies in the recognition that "a great many, if not nearly all, of our social problems grow out of our economic system." In addition to this central framework, the problems are given heightened meaning through an adequate delineation of the "social and historical setting in which they occur." Each problem or group of problems is described in connection with the characteristics of the present-day community and the processes of social change. The range of problems treated and their analysis cover practically every aspect of socioeconomic maladjustment. On the whole, this book should prove highly satisfactory as a text.

The March of a Harried Two Million, by DAVID SNEDDEN. Published by the author, 460 Amherst Street, Palo Alto, California, 1940, 75 pages.

This little pamphlet comes from the pen of one of the great pioneers of the trade and industrial-education movement in this country, Professor David Snedden. From the point of view of one who has labored in the field for upwards of thirty-five years, Dr. Snedden writes some reflections on the present and the future of vocational education. Dr. Snedden is especially concerned with the young people of America and especially those between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years. Each year some two million young folk join this group and, as Dr. Snedden so vividly puts it, "proceed from the eastern dawn of adulthood into the unknown wilderness in pursuit of economic competency." Dr. Snedden makes many criticisms of current education programs and he bewails the inadequate philosophies underlying modern vocational education. He stresses the point that sound philosophies of vocational education must be built upon sound philosophies of economics. Dr. Snedden looks for a great expansion in vocational education and, wrapped in the mantle of a prophet, he indicates the scheme of vocational education in 1980! It is an interesting and challenging pamphlet.

